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their wives took to weaving cloth they should earn it for themselves by growing and selling millet and brewing beer, and many women do the clearing and hoeing in their fields, work that used to fall to men; but it is difficult for a chief to refuse to provide a man to hoe the village-in his wife's field, or to refuse an elderly woman a cloth or some salt, and young boys grumble much about their circumstances.

In the political field there has been a sustained attempt to make local government non-democratic and to include in it the educated men. Between 1891, when the German Government first assumed control of the area, and 1938, the tendency was for the power of the chiefs to be increased at the expense of that of the commoners. This was admitted by the chiefs themselves, as we have seen. In 1939 there was established a system of Rural Councils, on which chiefs, village headmen (*mafumu*), and ordinary commoners are represented. Four* of each category are chosen as representatives on the Council in their area by an electoral college itself elected by all taxpayers. Rungwe District is divided into five areas. The policy of treating some chiefs as senior to others has been abandoned and each of the seventy-eight recognized rulers (*ubwinte*) is eligible for election as a chief's representative on his local Rural Council. Village headmen (two from each chiefdom) and the ordinary commoners are similarly chosen. The five Rural Councils in turn elect one man of each sex to the District Council.[2] The system allows for, and seems to have achieved, a continuation of men with traditionally high status and those who are conspicuous by reason of their education or success as coffee or rice farmers. The old feeling that education was not necessary to a chief's son, though it might be useful to a poor man, has vanished, and a considerable number of the educated leaders of the district are sons or grandsons of chiefs. The elected president of the District Council, Mr. Gordon Mwaisumo (1961) is of the Nyakyusa chiefs' lineage, though not of the most senior line. In the Rural Councils the presidents elected have all, with one exception, been ruling chiefs, but it is not necessarily the genealogically senior who is chosen. There is scope for selection on the grounds of character and ability.

* Five in the populous plain, Ntokela (Mu'Ngonde).

[2] cf. J. S. Kingdon, 'The Initiation of a System of Local Government by African Rural Councils in Rungwe District of Tanganyika', *Journal of African Administration*, vol. iii, 4 (1951).

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ing, for fear of witchcraft and take up the vacant building. Nevertheless in general the building was allowed to lapse and it could be re-occupied by the village headman if need arose, or the elderly widows might be allowed to continue to reside and cultivate as long as they wished.

Once land began to become scarce and valuable the town system could no longer continue. Empty buildings and half-brothers were no longer content to permit the chief heir to take the whole of the deceased's holding to do with it as he wished, and a compromise division had to be adopted. In fact, naturally enough, land was gradually brought under the same system which controlled the inheritance of other property, but this period Nyakyusa - Ngonde are only in itself so long, perhaps, as complacent and conducive of disagreement and quarrelling as to his or land is concerned, but also because that system itself was already beginning to break down under the impact of individualism.

It was felt that because sons assist their father in his homestead and fields and in their turn rely on him for a share in the cash-and-kind profits of peasant farming, therefore they should have priority in the inheritance of their father's property. Their father's brothers, it was said, would in any case already have their own holdings in which likewise their sons have prior claims. Conversely, elder brothers were logical to be reluctant to take a brother's land and other property out on his death for fear that, in their turn, control of their own land would descend at their deaths to their brothers' sons rather than to their own sons.

As a result of these attitudes a strong desire arose to modify the customary law in this matter, and the Rungwe Native District Council, with the approval of the Government, has by formal resolution established a new law under which sons may inherit direct from their own fathers.

This law is not universally accepted by the Nyakyusa of the Lake Plains and sons still will sometimes waive their moral rights in favour of the traditional claims of their fathers' brothers. They say that they do not desire to see the break up of the wider lineage which, in effect, this new law encourages; they are also afraid of the anger and jealousy, and then of the witchcraft, of their uncles. It appears however that the change is accepted by the large majority of the people, for it follows the trend of modern values and kinship sentiments.

The principal heir is now the eldest son, but in general he has little direct control over the property and land of his half-brothers unless they are still young, in which case he has a moral duty to act as guardian and custodian. Sons inherit that part of the ancestral holding which had been allocated to their mother by their father in his lifetime, plus any other pieces he might have given to any of them direct as individuals. Each group of half-brothers determines the way in which it divides up its own inheritance. The eldest brother of each a house has a definite obligation to see that his younger eldest shares of the land in so far as its extent and their number will allow. On the whole it is expected by Nyakyusa that the eldest brother will secure the best holding for himself, as befits his new status, but he cannot deny his younger brothers' claims. Disputes in this matter are not uncommon and the local courts have already shown their determination to support the claims of younger brothers.

Very commonly - though it has not yet crystallized as compulsory social behaviour - a father will grant a portion of his holding to his son on the latter's marriage, or at most after or the son decides to give up labour migration and settle down. It is thought that a married man should be independent economically and that he should be able to maintain his own household; it is realized that there is more likely to be friction in the relations between father and son, especially in this society where it is traditionally

[illegible] believed that parents and children should live apart.' In the same way, and for similar reasons, an elder brother tries to make provision for his junior when the latter marries if their father is already dead. The practice of the father is not a legally enjoined one, although it is sometimes increasingly common and some have begun to regard it: the practice of an elder brother is now legally enjoined in the matter of land and probably always has been in the matter of cattle.

The difficulties are obvious when a man dies and leaves several sons but only a small-sized holding. To date no clear ruling has emerged and unfortunately the African District Council did not deal specifically with such details when introducing the new law. How much land an elder brother can reasonably retain for himself is perhaps not determinable in precise exact in relation to the nature, locality and fertility of the holding in question, the plots already held by the man himself, the needs and number of the younger brothers and any holdings they may have, and the location of the villages in which they severally live. There is also plenty of scope for disagreement between half-brothers over portions of the paternal holding which had been retained by the latter himself for his own use, over portions allocated to a wife who has borne no sons or whose sons have died, and over permanent trees. The situation is still fluid and there has not yet been time enough for a common and generally acceptable solution to be established. Consequently each group of sons tries to solve its own particular problems in this matter as best it can, torn between old values and new attitudes and needs.

Relations between both full-brothers and half-brothers tend often to be severely tried at times of inheritance. It is not primarily, I think, a case of brothers' greed for valued land tending to overcome bonds of fraternity and co-operation; but it is rather that a father's arable holding is often not able to provide adequate amounts of arable land for each of his sons, and so they find the very greatest difficulty in obtaining land elsewhere. Already the traditional kin-group comprising the sons and grandsons of a group of full-brothers had begun to break down even before land shortage became serious. Now the group of full-brothers itself tends to be dispersed as sons obtain land where they can and it is endangered by dissensions over land rights and land division. Increasingly, it seems, a Nyakyusa man is becoming detached from his brothers and he tends to establish an independent family unit comprising his immediate family alone - that is, himself with his wives and children. We cannot attribute the whole cause of this modern trend to land shortage and economic difficulties, of course, for involved also are new ideas of individualism and of personal effort and reward, and the decreasing need for the economic support of brothers in social, economic and ritual activities.

Younger brothers may, and sometimes do in fact, agree that the paternal holding is already too small for further sub-division, or that the small parts which can be made available to them are scarcely worth having - especially if they live some distance away. On the other hand, the elder brother may already have obtained a holding in his own village and is therefore willing to make only a small claim or none at all in the interests of his juniors, and he may then divide the inheritance amongst them alone. Usually, on account of the dearth of land, the holding is divided between two or more brothers. It is split into small plots so that each brother has a share of paddy, food-crop and banana land, and these are commonly a half acre or even less in size nowadays. As already mentioned, by a kind of modern equity the local African courts generally favour the claim of the younger

1. See Wilson, M., 1951, p. 139 and passim. "The social purpose of age-villages is the separation of sons and brothers, of fathers-in-law and daughters-in-law." Ibid. p. 140.